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In Search of Buckley's "Hypersensitivity to Anti-Semitism"

by David Gordon

William F. Buckley's "In Search of Anti-Semitism" (*National Review*, December 30, 1991, pp. 20-62) has an underlying theme that merits analysis. Ostensibly, Buckley offers a long and minutely detailed discussion of four alleged cases of anti-Semitism, involving Joe Sobran, Pat Buchanan, *The Dartmouth Review*, and *The Nation*. Buckley's aim in the piece, however, goes beyond the assessment of these particular cases. He contrasts the alleged failings of Sobran and Buchanan with his own outstanding record. Ever since he founded *National Review* in 1955, he claims, he has been alert to the menace of anti-Semitism.

Thus, after *The American Mercury* turned anti-Semitic "I [Buckley] thought the time has come to act decisively" ("In Search," p. 37). He banned those on *National Review's* masthead from appearance on the masthead of the *Mercury*. His sensitivity to anti-Semitism has continued to the present. In a letter to Norman Podhoretz (apparently written in early 1987), Buckley ends on a self-congratulatory note: "...I contemplate with genuine pride the invitation I received today to accept the annual award of the Anti-Defamation League." ("In Search," p. 25). In sum, Buckley's essay contrasts the "contextual" anti-Semitism of Sobran and Buchanan with his own extraordinary sensitivity to the topic. I shall endeavor to show that Buckley's venture in self-praise rests on the elision of inconvenient material from *National Review's* early years.

Buckley's venture in self-praise rests on the elision of inconvenient material.

An obstacle unfortunately now presents itself. If Buckley's sensitivity is to be assessed, do we not first have to set forward a definition of anti-Semitism? Any attempt to do so threatens to mire us in controversy since beyond a few core cases, the concept is essentially contested.

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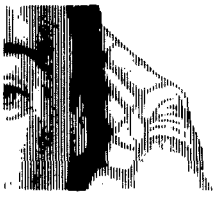

THE EAR

by Sarah Barton

The March 16th issue of *National Review*, with its replies to Bill Buckley's infamous "In Search of Anti-Semitism," is for once interesting. Joe Sobran, in his sweet way, demolishes Buckley, but Bill's churlish reply shows that he doesn't even realize Joe has wiped the floor with him.

Bill also sought to give the impression that Pat Buchanan

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(THE EAR cont. from pg. 1)
did not reply because of "the press of the campaign." In fact, Pat never had any intention of replying to Buckley's smear, and resisted lobbying to do so.

Bill admitted that the letters have been pouring in, 3:1 against him. The truth is 6:1 against him, but nevertheless, the letters Bill chooses to publish are 2:1 *for* him!

Bill had promised to publish the reply of everyone he attacked in his original libel. But he deep-sixed the brilliant letter of Paul Gottfried, Scourge of the Neocons.

* * * * *

Bill also, *without permission* and against Murray's wishes, printed a meat-axed version of Murray's historic speech at the John Randolph Club (see last month's *RRR*). Bill edited the speech to take out all of Murray's ideological arguments. He also deleted Murray's defense of Joe Sobran. Bill also claimed that he and Murray went their separate ways in 1962 over private lighthouses. In fact, he ostracized Murray and the other "isolationists" in the 1950s.

* * * * *

From David Gordon: Joel Covel, a Left-wing psychobabblist at Bard College, holds the *Alger Hiss Chair in Social Studies!*

* * * * *

Because Charles Koch refused to give his usual personal donation to the Cato Institute this year, it has cancelled its summer conferences. Cato has also been informed that Koch foundation money will be cut off over the next year.

* * * * *

William Weld, the "libertarian" governor of Massachusetts touted for 1996 by the Cato Institute and the *Wall Street Journal*, denounced Pat Buchanan on Super Tuesday. Not for "homophobia," as one might expect, but for his "isolationist," America First foreign policy. Weld praised the New World Order and said that "not one" American soldier should be brought home from overseas.

Despite his promise, Buckley deep-sixed the brilliant letter of Paul Gottfried.

* * * * *

In the post-Koch era, Cato is negotiating to get back on the neocon gravy train. That means a foreign-policy playdown, except for the promotion of democracy in Russia and elsewhere.

* * * * *

Bill Clinton is, like George Bush, a member of the Trilateral Commission. In November, will we have that Establishment dream, an all-Trilateral election?

* * * * *

Charles Koch's attack on IHS begins January 1, 1993. The grand old libertarian institution will be "turned upside down," in a betrayal of its founding purpose and history, and made an adjunct of the Wichita market-based management movement (see Joe Melton in this issue). The wonderful IHS summer programs will be cancelled at that time as well.

* * * * *

A twofer accused Pat Buchanan of anti-Semitism for using the word "sodomite." Why? Because Sodom was in ancient Israel.

* * * * *

David H. Padden, long-time Cato board member and president of the Heartland Institute of Chicago, tells people that the reason Murray is strongly for Pat Buchanan is because the First R is out for Power. This, from a long-time toady of Charles Koch.

Sure, Dave, and when Murray becomes Assistant Dictator under Pat, he's going to send one of the Buchanan Brigades to pay you a little visit. ■

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(In Search of. . .cont. from P.1)
But an escape lies at hand: we shall assess Buckley and his journal by his own standards. Regardless of their merits, Buckley at any rate can offer no complaint of trial by an alien test.

This approach compels us to face a new difficulty. Buckley offers no explicit criteria for the detection of anti-Semitism, especially for the "contextual" variety. How then can Buckley be judged by his own standards? Although he spurns explicit difinition, he does consider a number of examples of remarks that by his lights are anti-Semitic. These will be used as a benchmark for the ensuing discussion: would someone offended by the cases Buckley treats be apt to find my examples from the *National Review* at least equally objectionable?

As Buckley rightly notes, "genocidal catastrophe" ("In Search", p. 24) has occasioned much of the current sensitivity of Jews to anti-Semitism, and many Jewish organizations consider it essential to recall to vivid attention the horrors of Nazism. The trial of Adolf Eichmann, a principal agent of the Third Reich's Jewish policy, was the most important endeavor of this kind. By the trial, the Israeli government hoped to compel the post-war generation to confront the Holocaust.

What was *National Review's* reaction to the Eichmann trail? Was it, as one might expect, an attempt to empathize with the victims of Hitler? Quite the contrary, an editorial, "Thoughts on Eichmann" (*NR*, April 22, 1961, p. 239), sharply condemned the trial: "There is under way a studied attempt to cast suspicion upon Germany. . . That [an anti-German quote omitted here] — let us hope — is an extreme statement of the spirit that will be promoted by the trial. But it is all there: bitterness, distrust, the refusal to forgive, the advancement of Communist aims, the cultivation of pacifism. . ."

The role of the Eichmann trial in promoting anti-German feeling was not the sole concern of the editorial. The piece took the Israeli government severly to task for its seizure of Eichmann: "The interesting legal question, of course, is whether the community of nations is going to acquiesce in the notion that the State of Israel can define a crime against the Jewish people, swoop down on anyone presumed to have committed such a crime, and try that person in an Israeli court." (*NR*, April 22, 1961, p. 239). And the person who let *this* appear in his magazine presumes to calibrate the precise degree to which criticism of Israel counts as overstepping the limits of decency.

National Review addressed the question of genocide in another noteworthy item. Jack E. Jones, in "A Letter to *Commentary*" (*NR*, October 4, 1966, pp. 983-988) addressed some remarks to Norman Podhoretz quite different in content and tone from Buckley's current efforts. Jones lambasted an article by the eminent philosopher Karl Jaspers for its suggestion that the Holocaust was unique. "In fact nothing could be more misleading than the notion, for which Dr. Jaspers has found a long German word, that the Nazi massacres were in some fundamental way 'unique'. . ." (p. 985).

The uniqueness of the Holocaust is of course a standard theme of most Jewish writing on the subject; in contrast to other massacres, the Nazis attempted to destroy the entire Jewish people. But Jones did not agree: "It seems to me that the abstract guilt of Germany and of the United States in the matter of genocide is pretty much the same. But we have won all our wars, and this disagreeable truth is not thrown in our face" (p. 985).

Jones's article has yet further value for our assessment of Buckley. One of the chief instances leading to Buckley's accusation of "obstinate tendentiousness" against Joe Sobran was a statement of Sobran about Jewish persecution of Christians, ("In Search", pp. 23-24, quoting Buckley's "editorial note" of July 4, 1986). But Buckley had no problem with this statement by Jones: "It is perhaps worth recalling that the Jews themselves, though one so often hears of them as victims, were civilizing executioners at one time, carrying monotheism and genocide into pagan Palestine with fire and sword. . .In time the pagan cults somewhat recovered: so in the Ninth Century Jehu determined upon Israel's bloody 'final solution' to the

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Baalist question, the assassination of the crypto-pagan queens and their party'' (Jones, ''Letter'', p. 985). With Jones, Buckley essayed no anguished repudiation nor interminable analysis.

Although both Joe Sobran and Pat Buchanan strongly disclaim anti-Semitism, their denials do not settle the issue for Buckley. Each in his view has made remarks that stray over acceptable borders. Given his stringency on the subject, one can readily imagine how quickly Buckley would condemn an out-and-out anti-Semite.

Anyone inclined to reason by analogy in this way is in for a surprise. One of the most famous anti-Semites of the 1940's and 1950's was the anti-Communist pamphleteer Joe Kamp. His battles with Walter Winchell and with the Anti-Defamation League made his a name that anyone acquainted with politics at the time could not overlook.

Buckley's comment on Kamp can only be described as odd: ''It has widely been insinuated against Joe Kamp that he is an anti-Semite. Attempting to get to the bottom of the charge at the time of the story [of the use of a pamphlet by Kamp in the 1958 Knowland campaign] an editor of *National Review* called the offices of the Anti-Defamation League, doyen of anti-Semiticana. An official there, after consulting files, said the ADL had no data on which to hang the charge'' (William F. Buckley, *Up From Liberalism*, New York, McDowell, Obolenshy, 1959, p. 28 n).

The chances of such a conversation having taken place in the fashion described are inconceivably remote. Kamp's publications had as their principal theme the Jewish power that allegedly underlay Communism and the New Deal. As for the ADL's attitude to Kamp, the autobiography of Arnold Forster, the ADL's long-time Executive Director, is illuminating: Kamp's ''propaganda materials could be found in every corner of the anti-Jewish underworld'' (Arnold Forster, *Square One*, New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1988, p. 63).

Kamp himself took note of his clean bill-of-health from Buckley and cited it in a letter to the editor of *National Review*, which was printed without comment (*NR*, June 4, 1960, p. 374). The kindest remark one can make about Buckley's statement is that it is based on total ignorance.

The Buckley of the past appeared much more aroused by the ADL than the anti-Semites.

Buckley's remarks about another well-known anti-Semite display an oddity of a different sort. Revilo P. Oliver, a distinguished classicist, was for many years a book reviewer for *National Review*. As Buckley notes, Oliver was at one time a ''close friend''; as he does not note, Oliver was a member of his wedding party. In Buckley's account of his relations with Oliver, he states that Oliver's adoption of extreme postions forced his termination as a *National Review* contributor, bringing their friendship to an end. What Buckley does *not* say in his memoir of Oliver is, like the dog that failed to bark in the night, ''the significant episode.'' Oliver was vehemently anti-Jewish and had come to a bitter parting of the ways from the John Birch Society in 1966 over the matter. Yet in his depiction of Oliver, Buckley says not a word about this. Oliver's public adoption of a ''crackpot'' view of the Kennedy assassination, Buckley deemed beyond the pale; Oliver's anti-Semitism proved no bar to their friendship over many years (Wm. F. Buckley, *Cruising Speed: A Documentary*, New York: G.P. Putnam; 1971, pp. 111-114).

In point of fact, Buckley in the past appeared much more aroused by the ADL than by the anti-Semites that organization targeted. An editorial, ''The Mad Attempt to Get Schwarz'' had this to say of the ADL: ''The Anti-Defamation League *et al* have edged their way into the fever swamps of the hysterical Left. They are losing their honor and their sense of ethical discrimination. There is

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little left there, in all that cant and hatred and intellectual disorder, that can command the respect of decent and discerning men'' (*NR*, July 31, 1962, pp. 53-54).

A roughly contemporaneous editorial returned to the same topic: ''We are not the first to point out that the Anti-Defamation League is highly practiced in defamation. The remark, in as many words, was made by a prominent Jewish New York civil liberties lawyer, Mr. Arthur Garfield Hayes, years ago. (*NR*, ''The Impending Smear of Fred Schwarz'', June 5, 1962, p.399).

An earlier editorial struck at the ADL in even harsher terms: The ADL's ''Methods have sometimes bordered on the terroristic...The Anti-Defamation League is not often challenged, for it wields a terrible weapon: it can rush forward to brand as anti-Semitic the man who dares to cross it.'' (*NR*, ''Count Us Out'', December 8, 1956, p. 7).

Buckley himself referred to the ADL in scathing terms in his ''On the Right'' column for April 19, 1966: ''In its February 17 issue of *Review of the News*, the John Birch Society's Samuel Blumenfeld...gave the Anti-Deamation League unshirted hell, in my judgment utterly deserved, for making such an accusation [of promotiing anti-Semitism] against the Birch Society without ever giving responsible officials of the Society an opportunity to present conflicting testimony'' (*NR*, April 19, 1966, p. 352). One would hardly guess that, some twenty years later, Buckley would view ''with genuine pride'' an invitation to receive an award from the ADL.

In his discussion of Buchanan and Sobran, Buckley focuses on their highly critical remarks about Israel. The Mideast received comparatively little attention in the initial years of *National Review*, but what coverage Israel did receive can hardly be described as adulatory.

But are we not being unfair to Mr. Buckley? What about his supreme achievement: *American Mercury*?

Freda Utley, a well-known critic of Zionism, reviewed Rabbi Elmer Berger's *Who Knows Better Must Say So* with considerable enthusiasm, finding it a ''courageous and enlightening book'' (*NR*, June 6, 1956, p. 191). Rabbi Berger, an official of the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism, opposed Israel root-and-branch. His views were virtually identical with those of Alfred Lilienthal, whom Buckley now terms one of the ''professional apostates'' (Buckley, ''In Search'', p. 38). (So far as I am aware, Lilienthal is not an apostate but an adherent of Reform Judaism).

Some years later, W.J. Grandberg tried to explain ''Why They Flout the UN in the Middle East'' (*NR*, June 3, 1961, pp. 345-346). Although critical of both Arabs and Israelis, Grandberg made one remark that would surely have Buckley up in arms today, were it made by Sobran or Buchanan: ''Massacre and destruction had their value to Israel in causing Arabs to flee from their homes'' (p. 346).

Buckley himself has made comments that do not sit altogether well with his current pose as the protector of true conservatism from anti-Semitic infection. In a column appearing at the surprisingly late date of April, 1978, Buckley stated that the invasion of Cambodia in 1970 resulted in fewer innocent Cambodians killed ''than innocent Lebanese were killed by the survivors of the Hollocaust in the recent operation against Lebanon'' (*NR*, May 3, 1978, reprinting the newspaper column ''Holocaust'' of April 28). This, it is safe to say, is not the language of a sympathizer with Isreal.

But are we not being unfair to Mr. Buckley? What about his supreme achievement in combatting rightwing anti-Semitism, the memorandum against the *American Mercury*? Surely this suffices to show that, from the inception of *National Review*, Buckley qualified as an opponent of anti-Semitism.

To assess Buckley's memorandum, the history of the *American Mercury* during the

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1950's requires consideration. The magazine was then owned by Russell Maguire, a wealthy businessman who was addicted to belief in a Jewish conspiracy aiming at world conquest. Maguire's monthly column "In the Mercury's Opinion," left little doubt that he was much more than a "contextual" anti-Semite. In May, 1954, e.g., Maguire stated: "For the past two decades, our nation has been under the rule of a group of alien intellectuals..." (p. 77). In January, 1957, the "anti-Christ forces" were condemned (p. 97); in July, 1958, Maguire condemned the "Babylonian monopoly of money and credit" (p. 100). By November, 1958, Maguire had progressed: now the danger was the "Pharisaic world communist movement" (p. 63). In January, 1959, Maguire deovted his entire column to an alleged plot to establish a world empire with Jerusalem as its capital.

Although Buckley ceased to work for *American Mercury* after the resignation of William Bradford Huie as Editor, he was listed as a Contributing Editor from January, 1953 through April, 1955, a period lasting substantially after the inception of Maguire's anti-Semitic articles. After waiting for five years, Buckley issued his heroic memorandum. At various places in "In Search of Anti-Semitism" the memorandum is dated "about 1958" (p. 37) and "in 1957" (p. 24): the correct date is April, 1959.

Let us then have a look at the memorandum, which Buckley never quotes. A truncated version is cited by John B. Judis, Buckley's biographer, but for the complete version, one must consult the *American Mercury* for July, 1959. Maguire somehow obtained a copy of the document and published it.

The missive, entitled "Confidential Memorandum to Writers for *National Review*," stated: "As a matter of policy, *National Review* will not carry on its masthead the name of any person whose name also appears on the masthead of the *American Mercury*. We will not refuse to run material submitted by persons who continue to write for the *Mercury* for the reason that to do so would be presumptuous." The note went on to say that *NR* editors *would* cease to contribute to the *Mercury*; the reason for the memorandum was the *Mercury's* "pathologically irresponsible editorial material" (*American Mercury*, July, 1959, pp. 151-152).

Buckley's memorandum, which he intended to be confidential, was hardly more than a slap on the wrist. And to what did it respond? Not just to Maguire's anti-Semitism, which had been present in the magazine for years before the memorandum was issued. Rather, it appeared some months after Maguire published a detailed account of a "crackpot" theory. As with Revilo Oliver, the question arises: was Buckley concerned about the expression of anti-Semitism, or was the fear that he might be linked to someone he deemed "pathological" required for him to take action?

Once more, though, are we not treating him too harshly? Whatever his reasons for the memorandum, it placed *National Review* in danger: "I [Buckley] faced the problem that a half-dozen respectable names from the conservative movement were still associated with the *Mercury*...and that some of these names appeared also on the masthead of *National Review*...[After Buckley's ultimatum], In almost all cases (there was only one exception), they stayed with us." ("In Search," p. 37). Had they decided against *National Review*, the magazine would have faced substantial loss. Yet Buckley willingly assumed this risk. Should we not salute his courage?

I would gladly congratulate Mr. Buckley, but for the fact that his memory has once more played him false. When the memorandum was issued, only one person appeared on both mastheads — General Charles Willoughby, who in June, 1959 departed from his place of honor at *National Review*. The entire saga reduced to a dispute with a single minor contributor.

Perhaps William Buckley is now in fact, as he claims to be, a sincere believer in the need for "hypersensitivity to anti-Semitism" ("In Search", p. 24). If so, one wonders when the metamorphosis in his views occurred. Let us hope he will enlighten his many readers at some future date, with greater accuracy than heretofore. ■

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Selective Sensitivities

by Paul Gottfried

It seems that W.F.B. is in a swivet again. Having just completed his wordy reflections on anti-Semitism for the Christmas issue of *National Review*, Mr. Buckley has now found new insensitivities to expose. In a New Year column picked up by *The Washington Post*, he scolds administrators at the Catholic University of America for reducing the pay of the aged philosophy professor Paul Weiss. Weiss, who has grown infirm, will henceforth receive a smaller teaching load and a correspondingly lower salary. This second situation deeply distresses Mr. Buckley, who dwells on the virtues of the outspoken agnostic and longtime signer of Humanist Manifestoes. Buckley is especially bothered that C.U.A. supposedly responded to charges of ageism raised by the E.E.O.C. that Weiss "is not enough of a Thomist to qualify to stay on." He laments the fact that "truly eminent men are treated shabbily" and concludes that it is "difficult to defend the conduct of scholars and gentlemen and men of the cloth pledged to the highest personal standards suddenly treating one of the leading philosophers in the world as a pariah."

In Buckley's new world-view it has become "anti-Christian" even to reduce the pay of Paul Weiss.

Putting aside the hyperboles about Weiss's philosophical stature and C.U.A.'s "anti-Christian" behavior, there are several points in Buckley's brief that need to be addressed. First, it is simply false that C.U.A. refused to pay Weiss's full salary because it wished to replace him with an orthodox Thomist. From my own extended conversations with members of the philosophy department, it seems that the connection assumed is entirely imaginary. Weiss was being allowed to retire from the bulk of his teaching responsibilities, but the department, which is financially strapped, is unable to pay him a full salary in return for a significantly reduced workload. In the meantime it went ahead and hired a brilliant young scholar to fill the slot that Weiss had left. That scholar is a neo-Thomist, but contrary to Buckley's suggestion, did not come to C.U.A. to oust Weiss as part of a Thomist counterrevolution.

Secondly, it is interesting that Buckley should hurl himself into this particular academic imbroglio. About three years ago I too was at the center of an ugly war at C.U.A., in which the administration turned against me after the politics department had approved me, almost unanimously, for a professorship. At that time unspecified charges of "anti-Zionism" had been used to grease the skids. Mr. Buckley did not bring his eloquent pen to my defense, and the reason may be that his close friend Norman Podhoretz was involved directly in the attack. Why should Buckley be so enraged over this academic altercation? Could it be because it helps demonstrate his properly selective sensitivities to his present circle of friends?

Lastly, it may be permitted to speculate about the reason that Buckley has changed his mind so fundamentally about Paul Weiss since 1951. In *God and Man at Yale*, Buckley is full of righteous indignation when he describes this "confirmed debunker of the Christian religion." Indeed he offers shocking citations to prove his point. But now it is not Weiss but the churchmen at C.U.A. who must bear the onus of being "anti-Christian." Has Weiss altered his religious views in the intervening time? Buckley assures us he has not. Then it must be Buckley who has changed his view of Weiss and, presumably, of Christian theology, seeing that it used to be Weiss, not his critics, who were "anti-Christian." In fact, in Buckley's new world view it has become "anti-Christian" even to reduce the pay of Paul Weiss when his former bete noire is no longer capable of fulltime employment. Why has Buckley grown so demonstra-

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UNLV

March 11, 1992

The Editor
National Review
150 East 35th St.
New York, N.Y. 10016

Dear Sir:

I am outraged at your shoddy journalism. Not only did you publish lengthy excerpts from my presidential address to the John Randolph Club (NR, Mar.6) without ellipses; you published them without my permission. The copy given to your Mr. McGurn was not a clean one, and one that I had not proofed; more importantly, it was given to him only for his information, and under express instruction not to publish any of it. Moreover, Mr. McGurn gave repeated and explicit assurances that none of the speech would be published without my express permission. Not only that: the editing was such as to make my speech seem far less ideological and far more of a personal attack on Mr. Buckley than it really was.

Furthermore, if you had had the common decency to ask for my permission to publish, I would have refused. For the same reason that I strongly advised Pat Buchanan not to reply to Buckley's article: because *National Review* is in thrall to the neoconservatives, and because *National Review* is no longer the forum within which all differences among conservatives must be discussed and resolved. Pat Buchanan's entry into the presidential race has made it crystal clear that *National Review's* day is finally done; now that we have *Human Events* for political news, *Chronicles* for intellectual substance, and Pat Buchanan as the political leader of our movement, who needs *National Review?* The answer is no one, apart from neoconservatives, and those who crave jobs and contacts inside the Beltway. Certainly not the younger conservatives, who are enthusiastic Buchananites; and not your donors and subscribers, once they find out what you have been up to.

National Review is "history;" it is a walking corpse who thinks it is still a living and vibrant force in American life. Why don't you have the grace to face reality and, along with Mr. Buckley, go into *permanent* retirement?

Sincerely yours,

Murray N. Rothbard
S.J.Hall Distinguished Professor
of Economics

tively fond of someone he once clearly detested? The answer, I would venture to give, has nothing to do with theology and everything to do with social acceptability. *Tempori parendum!* ■

Dr. Gottfried, an adjunct scholar of the Mises Institute, teaches politics at Elizabethtown College.

Left-Libertarianism: The Cato-Cornuelle Connection

by Joe Melton

These days, the changes wrought by the collapse of the Soviet Union have gotten us used to living in a time warp. (Serbs vs. Croats! An independent Ukraine! A move to bring King Michael to the throne of Romania!) So it was more fascinating than astonishing for veteran libertarian-watchers to see, recently, the return of Dick Cornuelle, once one of the movers and shakers of the movement. And still more fascinating to see him brought back under the auspices of the Cato Institute. And thereby hangs a tale.

Strange as it may seem, Dick was brought back in the form of a front page article "The Power and Poverty of Libertarian Thought" in the January-February 1992 *Cato Policy Report*, an article moreover, that is simply a reprint of a London *Times Literary Supplement* article

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of almost a year earlier (April 5, 1991). Why give top coverage to an aging reprint?

Dick Cornuelle I

Dick Cornuelle was one of the early hard-core Misesian anarcho-capitalist libertarians, and he has been ostentatiously rising above what he sees as that youthful indiscretion ever since. A graduate student in Ludwig von Mises's first NYU seminar in 1949, Cornuelle joined the staff of Garet Garrett's quarterly *American Affairs*. Dick was the younger brother of Herb Cornuelle, an authentic managerial genius who was executive director of the Foundation for Economic Education. Herb brought Dick to FEE, and then, after Herb left FEE to become top administrator at the William Volker Fund, he brought Dick over to become a liaison officer of the Volker Fund in California. Herb soon left the organized libertarian movement to become a top industrialist in the real world (head of United Fruit, Dole Pineapple, and Dillingham & Co.), and the Volker Fund went on to become, during the late 1940s and 1950s, a lone foundation promoting libertarian and conservative scholarship.

Early in the growth of the Volker Fund, however, Dick Cornuelle had a vision, which he wrote later came to him while a journalist observing unemployment in the coal-mining areas: free-market economists didn't understand unemployment, they don't *care* about *people*. Since this is the sort of landfill that has always been hurled at free-market economists, Dick's professed moment of conversion never really rang true.

During the 1950's, then, Dick Cornuelle criticized libertarians and free market economists for being too "negative" about government, for appearing to lack compassion for social goals. We have to change, he opined, we have to offer "positive" solutions. In a deep sense, Cornuelle, on the intellectual level, was foreshadowing the *political* sell-outs of Jack Kemp and other "Big Government conservatives" two decades later. Cornuelle declared that, instead of being "negative", libertarians should show liberals that voluntary action could accomplish liberal social goals more effectively than government. One deep flaw in this strategy is that he thereby allowed liberals to fix the "goals", which could be set arbitrarily by virtually anyone. The M.O. of liberals has always been to search for "problems" in a free society and, life being what it is, far short of the Garden of Eden, it is all too easy to Discover Problems. Thus, liberals could exclaim: "My God! Not enough people over the age of 60 own yachts!" Dick Cornuelle's response to such a claim would be to run around trying to show that voluntary action could accomplish such goals better than government. How? By urging businessmen to show liberals how great voluntary action is, by providing yachts for all old people! The choice of a Problem: yachts for the elderly, is deliberately chosen here because it is ridiculous; but the point is that liberals can always up the ante. The logic of the proposed action remains the same. If Cornuelle's voluntary action manages to meet one "social goal", there is nothing to prevent liberals from lowering the limbo stick another notch. When asked about this problem of goal-setting back in the 1950's, Cornuelle feebly replied that the goals would have to be "reasonable"; but who defines *reasonable?*

One deep flaw in this strategy: it allows liberals to set the "goals."

Since, by virtue of the process of liberals' setting unrealistic goals, the free-market economy could not be satisfying them, Cornuelle emphasized a third force; voluntary, non-profit activities, which he claimed to have been the first one to have discovered since Tocqueville, and which he dubbed "the independent sector." Cornuelle claimed that this independent sector is a sort of Third Force, totally different

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from the profit-making sector as well as government. In reality, however, this sector is simply another market form of voluntary action, in which the donor serves as the "consumer" of the services performed by the myriad of non-profit organizations. While it is true that economists have been laggard in theoretical analyses of the non-profit sector, the landscape is not quite as desolate as Cornuelle makes it; he might profit, for example, from reading Mises's classic *Bureaucracy*.

Cornuelle's own exercises in mobilizing the independent sector, however, were conspicuous floperoos. While at the Volker Fund, Cornuelle first launched the Foundation for Voluntary Welfare, finally concentrating on his Big Idea, United Student Aid Funds (USAF). The idea was for a private organization, such as his USAF, to lend money to college students, which they would repay after graduation. A critic might ask: Well, OK, but why can't the banks or other lending agencies make these loans? Where do *you* (Cornuelle or USAF) come in? Ahh, therein lies the hook. For, according to Cornuelle, the banks and lending agencies on the free market were not supplying *enough* student loans; therefore, his function was to induce banks to get together and *subsidize* such loans.

In any event, Cornuelle found it impossible to bid against the government, which uses taxpayers' money, and which is therefore *always* in a position to out-subsidize private agencies. And so the federal government, by lending even more recklessly to students, and at ever lower interest, was able to put USAF out of business—and lead to a mountain of student defaults that now plague the American taxpayer.

Dick Cornuelle II

One peculiarity of modern American life is that people can use one failure as a springboard to leap forward to a higher failure. And so, Dick Cornuelle was able to vault from the floperoo of USAF to become one of the rising social theoreticians of the "new" or "modern" Republicans of the 1960's. Dick found himself a disciple, the only living Cornuellian, one T (no period) George Harris, then an editor of *Look* magazine. During 1965, Harris wrote an apotheosis of Cornuelle for *Look*, trumpeting the great man's virtues, and hailing Cornuelle's new vision as The Answer to the post-Goldwater doldrums of the Republican Party. There was even a strong hint in the article that Dick himself might run for governor of California, a hint neatly bolstered by a family picture of Dick, wife, small children, and dog. Shortly afterward followed Dick's manifesto, *Reclaiming the American Dream*. Dick never did succeed in running for governor, but his line of "positive" blather, backed by personal charm, did get him a considerable in with some of the highly touted new, "moderate" Republicans of that era, including Bob Finch of California, and George Romney of Michigan.

The independent sector was seen as stuck in the disorganized quilting-bee 19th century.

Cornuelle's *Reclaiming* spelled out his new, broader vision. It answered the basic question that had plagued Cornuelle I: if the "independent sector" is so great, where does Dick Cornuelle come in? Does that sector really need a professional cheerleader? But it turns out that the independent sector, while *potentially* wonderful, was stuck back in the disorganized quilting-bee nineteenth century era. The independent sector may be lovable, but it is scattered, horse-and-buggy. What it needed was to join the modern world; it needed *organization*. And who was supposed to supply that organization? Who else? Papa Government. And so Cornuelle proposed that the federal government set up a Secretary for the Independent Sector, to help organize it, to help channel the voluntary funds and efforts that go into charity and non-profits, into

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properly organized areas. The government was not supposed to plan and fund the *independent* sector directly — for that would be socialism! — but simply guide, direct, and channel the independent sector: in other words, to bring that previously private sector under the benign eye and rule of the State. Also, under Dick's scheme, each state government was supposed to have a secretary for its own independent sector, thus insuring proper private-state-federal coordination. Dick Cornuelle had sure come a long way from Misesian libertarianism, let alone anarcho-capitalism.

The reader needs only one guess to figure out who Dick was proposing for the new and mighty task of Secretary of the Independent Sector: who but the creator of the concept himself? And indeed, Cornuelle was part of the Nixon campaign of 1968, and for a while President Nixon made Cornuelle an administrative assistant in charge of voluntarism or the independent sector. But something happened to Dick Cornuelle's Reclaimed Dream, and in a few months Cornuelle was out of the Corridors of Power. Who knows? Maybe he ran into H.R. Haldeman.

Dick Cornuelle III

Since the debacle of 1969, Dick Cornuelle has essentially dropped out of both the movement and of politics, surfacing once in a while with another book or article. In his later writings, Cornuelle added another anti-capitalist deviation to his call for a better-organized independent sector: a Left-Libertarian attack on *all* hierarchy, all "power", including the "regimentation" and near-enslavement of workers by their employers.

Dick Cornuelle's latest lucubration was written for TLS, with the collapse of communism as its handle. First, he reminisces about Mises' seminar and states that Misesian libertarians were right about the inevitable collapse of socialism. As he has done before, Cornuelle sneers at Mises in the guise of an affectionate memoir, falsely claiming that Mises lectured "in a kind of accented chant as if he were reciting scripture from memory." Perhaps Cornuelle has never heard professors capable of lecturing, without notes, in coherent sentences.

Well, concludes Cornuelle, yes libertarians were right about socialism and that's fine, but who cares? For now we face other problems, which libertarian thought is not prepared for. The first is Dick's old hobby-horse the Independent Sector. Back at his old stand, Cornuelle claims that "even now, the organizations of the independent sector are waiting to be counted and classified." No doubt the Independent Sector is still Waiting for Cornuelle. Ahh, the dream of 1968!

After that, Cornuelle turns to the newer, more interesting, "second crippling deficiency of libertarian thought": the pervasive existence of wage-slavery in the capitalist system. Well, he doesn't quite use the term "slavery." Inside the factory, laments Cornuelle, the free market does not rule, but hierarchical management and "regimentation" of the labor force. "When freemen went to work in factories," Cornuelle writes, "their status was not unlike that of the iron-collared serfs who had preceded them. Their employment was a kind of voluntary indenture, tacitly renewed each day..." But apparently, even though Cornuelle generally extols the "voluntary", *this* form of voluntary indenture or "serfdom" he does not find acceptable.

And so Dick Cornuelle wants to do away with what he sees as a massive element of "socialism" within each capitalist firm. But he of course doesn't answer the question why it is that "an economy presumably works best if it is not administered from the top; (whereas) a factory presumably works best if it is." This in fact is not, as Cornuelle seems to believe, a strange inner contradiction of capitalism; if, in fact, he should ever read Ronald Coase's classic article "The Nature of the Firm", he will find the answer. The comparative domain of the "market" (the domain of buying and selling), vis a vis relations internal to "the firm" (giving and obeying orders in a hierarchy), and therefore the size of the firm in the free market economy, will depend on the relative costs incurred by the two kinds of organization. To put it starkly, why don't firms exist in which each person is his own "firm", so that, e.g. Jim, on the assembly line, buys the gizmo from Joe, the

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guy behind him on line, and then resells the gizmo with a newly tightened bolt to Jack, the guy next on the line? Clearly, because such a setup would be idiotically expensive. Organization and hierarchy saves on such costs until, after a certain size, it becomes less costly and more efficient, to buy or sell a product in the market.

There are other grave flaws in this idea of Every Man an Entrepreneur, or Every Man a King, a sort of individualist twist on the old concept of workers' cooperatives (for a few years higly touted as the Third, Yugoslav, Way to freedom and prosperity.) In a system of free-market capitalism, the capitalist-entrepreneur, or employer, performs two vital functions which most "wage slaves" will run like blazes from assuming. *First*, they save enough from their incomes and from consumption to invest in plant, machinery, and inventory. Capitalist-employers, in fact, save up this money, and are willing to pay workers during the process of production, while they themselves wait for the years until the product can be sold before they can reap the returns. The interest, or profit, rate is the reward for this saving and waiting. How, I would like to know, would Cornuelle's independent worker-entrepreneurs enjoy waiting for a year or for ten years without a paycheck?

And secondly, the capitalist-entrepreneur assumes the risk of capital loss. He pays wages and other costs now, and risks the possibility that, later, when the product matures and is sold, the buyers or consumers will have lost interest in the product, or there will be a recession. Laborers, on the other hand, assume no risk of loss. "Profit-sharing" is often a popular scheme among workers; but how readily would they take to *loss*-sharing?

The system of "wage-slavery", then, performs the vital service of insulating the "wage slaves" against the risks of the market, and provides instant returns to their productivity instead of them having to wait years for a monetary return.

This is a crack-pot entrepreneurial scheme in the guise of a social philosophy.

Cornuelle's and similar vague blatherings against the capitalist system of "regimentation" fuzz over a vital point: we have a free society. And in a free market society, workers are free at any time to quit their onerous tasks, and to *become* self-employed entrepreneurs. Why don't they do so? Because they are making a conscious choice: and they would rather have relatively secure jobs at high wages than subject themselves to the buffetings of entrepreneurship. Sure, sociologically, many workers would prefer being their own bosses; but life consists of choices among alternatives, and most workers have made a voluntary and reasonable choice. They don't need to be hectored or deluded by the likes of Dick Cornuelle into thinking that they could enjoy the relative security and gravy of capitalism while still being their own bosses and following no orders.

For, at bottom, what Cornuelle and like-minded theorists are doing is putting forth a crackpot entrepreneurial scheme in the guise of a doctrine on social philosophy. If they really believe that the sociology of Every Man a King would be so wonderful that the system could outcompete capitalist firms, they (1) have to face the problem why such a system hasn't worked in the past and why capitalism universally won out in the marketplace; and (2) set up their own darned Every Man an Entrepeneur system and see who joins and salutes it. The fact that they are agitating against capitalism but *not* offering any concrete alternatives for workers to embrace, shows that there is something inherently phony and crackpot about the whole idea.

Libertarians and the Cato Connection

The Every Man a King theme did not arise full-blown from the mind of Richard Cornuelle.

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It, unfortunately, was in the air during the 1960's and 1970's; at one point, Charles L. Dickinson, an officer in the Institute for Humane Studies, wrote a pamphlet advocating this system, and even IHS founder, F.A. Harper, flirted with this concept.

Lured by the promise of ultimate individualism, many libertarians have been tempted by this idea. It takes to an absurd extreme, for example, the Austrian lionizing of the functions of entrepreneurship. The problem is that these would-be Austrians did not fully absorb another vital part of Misesian doctrine: the tremendous diversity, and inequality, among men. To be a *successful* entrepreneur, like being a good nuclear physicist, requires qualities that are all too rare in society: the entrepreneur must know his chosen market inside out, he must be able to intuit the future, to see gaps in the market, and, above all, to risk his shirt on the chance that he is right. And he must make these decisions *at the right time*. One of the crucial reasons that most people cannot be successful entrepreneurs is that they lack such qualities, and are therefore doomed to be members of the proletariat.

Libertarians don't understand — or don't *want* to understand — that, in Austrian theory, there is nothing great about *unsuccessful* entrepreneurs. The whole point of being an entrepreneur is to earn profits, but in contrast, the libertarian movement undoubtedly contains more *losing* entrepreneurs than any other ideological movement in history.

At bottom, then, the fallacy of Every Man an Entrepreneur is not so much individualist as it is egalitarian—the dangerous Enlightenment fallacy that all individuals are plastic, uniform blobs, to be molded into any shape by the incentives or sanctions of their environment.

Left-Libertarians, as a result, have long been attracted to this Utopian twaddle. Not only because they are individualist egalitarians, who believe that *any one* can do anything he or she wants to achieve, but also because they tend to resent any sort of full-time steady work. The peculiarities of the Libertarian Party are part of the larger problem of the general libertarian movement: for both attract adherents who hate steady jobs, who float from place to place, who live on the margins of society. Hence, the reason that so many libertarians are moochers, petty racketeers, con men. Since they are relatively bright, they don't usually fall into the ranks of the "homeless", but can survive in such marginal occupations as computer programming.

Left-libertarians are attracted to this Utopian twaddle because they resent full-time work.

From the strictly libertarian point of view, of course, there is nothing *wrong* with being a marginal type, or even with being a non-crooked moocher, but there is a lot wrong with it from the point of view of social philosophy. And, besides, marginal types cannot form the groundwork for a successful social or political movement. On the contrary, they can be the kiss of death.

But where does Cato fit into all this? While leftish on many social issues Cato has so far not been overtly anti-capitalist. Here we come to the vagaries of the Kochtopus. The latest bee in Charles Koch's bonnet is something called "market-based management" (MBM). He is in the process of transforming the Institute for Humane Studies from a nurturer of ideas and scholarship to a focus on MBM, and the loonies at the Kochtopusian Center for Market Processes at George Mason have suddenly decided to change their focus from neo-Marxian "hermeneutics" to MBM.

After scouting around, I finally discovered that MBM is nothing else than a renaming of our old friend Every Man an Entrepreneur. Now it begins to make sense. It is surely understandable that Ed Crane, desperate at Koch's leaving the Cato board in pursuit of his new icon MBM, might have decided to throw a bone in Charles's

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direction and reprint the Cornuelle opus.

Charles Koch as a devotee of this stuff, however, makes very little sense. Of all the business men in the country, Charles is notorious in his desire to run every last minor detail of either his enterprises or his non-profit activities. Charles against hierarchy and wage-slavery?? As so often happens with the Kochtopus, we shall have to keep a sharp eye and wait and see, but one cynical Koch-watcher has come up with the following scenario: "Look, maybe what Charles wants to do, like many would be totalitarians, is to destroy all *intermediate* hierarchies, all institutions that might interfere with his own total rule over every worker. Perhaps, the idea is *equality* of every worker, but each under the total and personal rule of The One Master. Sort of Every Man a King, but each under one Emperor Charles."

True, the scenario may sound farfetched, but old Kochtopus hands have learned never to reject any hypothesis, however outlandish, which gives full weight to Charles's drive for power. ■

Max Lerner: Again?!

by M.N.R.

Drat! I thought I had disposed of Max ("Slapsy Maxie") Lerner once and for all. ["I Hate Max Lerner," RRR — Nov. 1990] But the guy simply doesn't know when he's licked. His syndicated column is called "Civilization Watch," and I guess it figures, because as the neo-con's 2000-year old man, he's seen every human civilization come and go. Now (Feb. 28) he's back at the old stand, trumpeting about how he, Max, stood side-by-side with FDR in their heroic battle against the "menacing isolationism" of the 1930's, against Lindbergh, Father Coughlin, the German-American Bund (as if all these had about equal weight!), and, especially against the "original sinister 'America First' movement out of which Patrick Buchanan's new one has arisen." Max and FDR, shoulder to shoulder, were fighting, Max says, for Woodrow Wilson's foreign policy, and for "collective security." Then, after the war, Megalomaniacal Max "joined with" Dean Acheson to battle against the equally sinister "opponents of the Marshall Plan."

Well, I'll tell you, Max. All those battles that you and the other lesser guys, like FDR and Acheson, fought together, I was there too, every time, on the other side, trying my best to kick you in the shoulder. (Max's shoulders are about on a level with other people's shins.)

On the basis of his 2,000-year perspective, Max has some sage advice for all of us American youngsters. What is it? Surprise: that we should once again follow this path of what he calls "the fusion of Wilsonian idealist ends with realistic Hamiltonian means." Sure: as someone who has never been able to make up his mind about who is the single most evil politician in American history: Hamilton, or Wilson, that's a real appealing combination. Myself, I prefer a counter-fusion: isolationist ends (Borah? Nye? Lindbergh?) joined to Jeffersonian means. Now how does *that* grab you, Max?

Now comes the concrete applications of Max's fusion for today's world. First, Max urges *both* parties to embrace his fusion: "Only thus can they show they are 'presidential.'" That's it, Max: above all, the dice must be loaded in this wonderful "democratic" game you're always prating about: make sure that the dumb American masses get no choice. Right?

And what does this fusion entail? First, "heroic alliance measures" (English translation: massive subsidy and control) "to shore up the new Russian republics" (well, only *one* republic is "Russian", but Max can't allow petty details to disturb the grand sweep of his strategic vision). "Shore up" against *what*, exactly? Here it comes: "against plunging into a 'Russia first' ethnic and anti-Semitic nationalism." Ahh. I guess, in his own heavy-footed way, Max Lerner has outlined for us with great clarity the neo-con version of the New World Order: an order where not only any America First trend is stamped out, but also any "Russia first" or anyone else-first movement everywhere in the world, in order to eradicate all nationalisms and "anti-Semitism." Does this mean

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that the United States is supposed to run the world in order to crush all nationalism and anti-Semitism throughout the globe? Can this foreign policy doctrine be sold, in all its candor and clarity, to the American public? Is Max willing to take a democratic vote on this issue?

All nationalisms must be stamped out, it seems, but one. For Israel must be supported to the hilt and beyond. Of course, bipartisan all-out support for Israel would mean, in Max's words, "a rejection of Patrick Buchanan and America's most dangerous isolationist movement since the dark days on the eve of World War II." But Max admits he's got a tough row to hoe. For President Bush is persisting in terrible anti-Israel policies, "his petty personal grudge against Yitzhak Shamir" (who, knowing Shamir, could possibly have a personal grudge against this lovable character?); his "false realism" in courting "terrorist" Arab countries (Hey, Max, your pal Shamir has no mean terrorist record himself); and Bush's "indifference" to the "plight" of new immigrants to Israel (English translation: Shamir's urge to settle these immigrants in Arab areas). And behind Bush, says Max, is the even more terrible "James Baker and his media claque" (Go ahead, say it, Max: his "amen corner"). Well, how about the Democrats? No, because none of the Democratic candidates are denouncing Bush and Baker for their "betrayal of the American-Israeli alliance" (alliance against *whom* exactly, Max?)

Sorry, methinks the chances for Max's bipartisan fusion are dwindling every day. The glory days of you and those other guys battling the German-American Bund are long gone, Max. Face it, and, come on, for Heaven's sake, Max, shut up already.

Frankly, I prefer the wisdom of Mel Brooks's 2000-year old man. Any day in the week. ■

"Freedom Fighters" With No Place To Go

by J.M.

In all the excitement about the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, one group of losers from these great events has been overlooked. So it is time to stop, and shed a tear — or a snicker — for the "Freedom Fighters" [FF] throughout the world, and especially for their cheering squad in the U.S. The assorted FF may have been mainly thugs and bandits, but at least they laid their lives on the line. The same cannot be said for their scam merchant fellow travellers and fuglemen in the United States.

Jack Wheeler, Randian "philosopher," posed as a swash-buckling paramilitary FF.

The FF crew in the United States were "privatizer" outriders of Ollie North, the CIA, and whoever else were engaging in covert operations and aid to FF abroad. The lionized leader of this crew was an improbable character named Jack Wheeler, who began in life as a Randian "philosopher", and then began to pose as a swashbuckling paramilitary FF, gun in one hand and *Atlas Shrugged* in the other. A wannabee Che Guevera of the American Right.

Well, you might have noticed that FF ain't what they used to be. Let's go down the list. First in the hearts of Cold/Hot warriors everywhere were the Nicaraguan *contras*, but alas they have been ruined by success, victim of the Yankee neocon/social democrat passion for exporting Democracy throughout the world. The evil Sandinistas agreed to a free election, they lost — to the cheers of virtually everyone except American Leninists — and, at that point, the *contras* were obliged, very grudgingly, to surrender their arms. A few holdouts in the hills, against a democratic, non-Communist regime, don't qualify for the label of FF in anyone's lexicon. And so the FFers are reduced to muttering about the sellout by Violetta Chamorro, and yearning for the good old days of *contra*

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heroism in the jungles.

A second favored spot for FFery was Afghanistan. A huge amount of U.S. arms and other aid poured into the FFers, particularly to the group touted by U.S. buddies in the Pakistan CIA, a bandit and torturer named Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, cordially detested by all other Afghanis for his murdering proclivites. But, as long as he was fervently "anti-Communist", that was all that counted for our FFers. Hekmatyar's supporters were almost non-existent inside Afghanistan; they were essentially confined to his own band, who spent most of their time across the border in Pakistan accumulating U.S. aid.

The Afghan FF were also a victim of success. After U.S.—supplied Afghan guerrillas succeeded in driving out the Soviet army, the Commie regime of Najibullah, instead of collapsing in a few weeks, as the U.S. government and all FFers had confidently predicted, is still in power, more secure than ever. Why? Because Najibullah was shrewd enough to see the handwriting on the wall, moderate his Commie rule, and appeal to all the secular and moderate Afghans who knew all too well that the FFers, far from being some species of Afghan Social Democrat, were fanatic Islamic fundamentalists who make the Saudi Arabian regime seem like a stronghold of Left ultra-feminism.

A third-disaster-through-success was the sentimental favorite of the Wheelerite FFers: the guerrilla movement in Angola of Dr. Jonas Savimbi, chief of the Ovimbundu tribe which peoples southern Angola. Dr. Savimbi's social philosophy, insofar as it went beyond what's good for the Ovimbundu, was an acrid blend of socialism, Maoism, and *Negritude*. But he was shrewd enough to tell the American suckers what they wanted to hear: Dr. Savimbi's alleged midnight conversion to capitalism and the free market, his bookshelves well-stocked with Portuguese translations of free-market economists, who undoubtedly were Dr. Savimbi's constant study.

Savimbi and his Maoist UNITA movement engaged in mass torture.

Soon, however, the facts began to emerge about Savimbi and his UNITA movement. They engaged in mass torture, particularly of alleged witchcraft practiced in Angola, and the Savimbi administration in the south was scarcely a model of privatization or the free market. Eventually, too, Savimbi's band "sold out" — that is, made a deal with the Commie government of Angola, now joining the crowd in moderating its policies — and, alas and alack, the UNITA FFers are no more.

That leaves only RENAMO, still presumably battling the Marxist regime of Mozambique, but RENAMO is so vile that even during the height of the Cold War, most rightists shied away from that particular cause. The rest is poor pickins, indeed.

So poor Jack Wheeler, what's he doing now, that FF are no more? Well, lo and behold, the former paramilitary swashbuckler was last seen in mid-February, in Washington, D.C. at the Conservative Political Action Conference, distributing a four-page leaflet smearing Pat Buchanan as the "politics of Retreat", retreat, presumably, from all the Commies yet to be slain. Buchanan, claimed our Randian philosopher, fails to "realize that America is on Planet Earth"; instead, Pat is a narrow-minded "provincial American." Well, you can't accuse Wheeler of being *that*. After allegedly fighting Commies in jungles all over the world, life in the narrow old U.S.A. must seem pretty tame to the old adventurer. One more thing: Wheeler has the nerve, in his little outpouring, to attack the John Randolph Club as being "political extremists." Hey, is this a case of the pot calling the kettle black, or what?

Poor Never Say Die Jack Wheeler, doomed to live during the listless "End of History!" Hey, I've got a great idea. Why don't we put Jack out of his misery, and bring

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back his alleged good old days? Why don't we take up a collection to parachute Jack Wheeler, in full combat gear, into Cuba, where he can battle it out, *mano a mano*, with Fidel? I figure that, in that sort of struggle, whatever happens, the world will be better off. ■

Earthquakes in 1989 and 1992

by Burton S. Blumert

"Bush's California Campaign Nearly Self-Destructed" was the shocking headline in the *San Francisco Examiner*, March 2, 1992. The California Republicans had just completed their state convention at the Hyatt Regency Hotel near the San Francisco Airport. Even during Presidential election years these affairs are usually deadly dull. But not this time. Incredible arrogance on the part of the California Republican Party leadership and their Bush-administration mentors, and the appearance of hundreds of passionate supporters of Pat Buchanan led to a political earthquake at the Hyatt.

I was reminded of an earlier earthquake that struck the hotel. The 600-room crown jewel of the Hyatt chain was not quite a year old when the San Francisco Bay Area was hit by the 7.3 Loma Prieta Earthquake on October 17, 1989.

The quake struck at 5:04 P.M. and I was desperately trying to return to my office building located adjacent to the Hyatt. The ride back to my building was filled with terror. Ordinarily a ten-minute drive, it took over an hour; traffic lights were out and abandoned cars blocked intersections. My fears were substantiated as my building was devastated. As night fell, with all power out, only the Hyatt with its own generators was a bright, inviting beacon. People were flocking there for warmth and food. I was entering the lobby when ashen-faced hotel employees shouted that the hotel had to be evacuated. We would learn the truth later. The brand new hotel had suffered serious structural damage. It would remain closed for over a year and some engineers believed it would never be safe again. Although hardly noted by the media, the damage to the Hyatt Regency Hotel was one of the great disasters of the big quake.

The Political Earthquake

The Republican Party state convention at the Hyatt Regency spawned an entirely different sort of earthquake. "How could the Republican leadership have made such a serious mistake?" asked Rollin Post, veteran San Francisco political observer. Easy, it was a "Confederacy of Dunces".

The drama started back in December, when Susan Dignan, wife of the Republican State Chairman, Jim Dignan, thought it would be a terrific idea for the state convention to endorse George Bush for re-election. Great. But in over 70 years no candidate had ever been endorsed by a state convention. That's what primaries are for. Nevertheless, Susan mailed letters to every delegate suggesting they support changes in party by-laws so that the convention could endorse the President. (Suspending the rules would require a two-thirds vote.)

Senior Bush campaign people in Washington, D.C. were not only aware of the Dignan plan, they encouraged it. Aides to Gov. Peter Wilson, however, were not so sure and they tried, unsuccessfully, to persuade chief Bush campaign advisor Charles Black that it was all a bad idea and could very well backfire.

By mid-February it was clear that Dignan wasn't the right man for the assignment as he had hardly twisted an arm for the plan. On Feb. 19, Gov. Wilson reluctantly sent his letter to the delegates urging them to suspend party rules enabling the convention to endorse George Bush.

On the eve of the convention, panic set in. Buchanan supporters were outraged at the blatant and arrogant attempt to pre-empt the primary process, and they were able to generate full media coverage of the controversy.

By this time Dignan had been pushed aside and the Wilson people were fully in charge. Did they dare gamble that they had two-thirds of the delegate vote? Conventional wisdom told them that delegates are more traditional than regular Repulicans and that they might oppose endorsing *ANY* candidate before the June Primary. Mostly, they feared the noisy, passionate and principled Buchanan contingent.

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Early Saturday morning there was a tense meeting of the leadership. Some blustered that they could get two-thirds vote. Others were not so sure. Despite a great deal of grumbling, the Bush-Wilson operatives made the decision to avoid the battle and not risk embarrassing George Bush where he is not exactly revered by conservatives. The plan to endorse Bush was dumped and the Bush campaign limped out of the convention. John Jacobs, chief political writer for the *San Francisco Examiner*, observed with unusual candor, "...how close the Bush team in this state came to crashing and burning."

The California Buchanan Team

While the Bush/Wilson Republicans spent the winter self-destructing, the Buchanan for President California campaign was incubating. There was no money available as the national Buchanan strategy was to focus all energy and resources on one state at a time. First New Hampshire, then Georgia, and so on. One significant asset the Buchanan for President campaign did have was state coordinator Richard "Woody" Neff. The 45-year-old Neff owns a public relations and marketing firm in Fresno. Neff started the campaign with a single phone at his desk.

If Woody Neff is the state hero, Eric Garris of LROC was the star of the convention.

In January as the Buchanan fire spread, Woody's life changed quickly. There were now hundreds of phone calls every day. Without any assistance from Republican party functionaries, he built his team. In short order he had coordinators throughout the state, and had created an efficient informational network. When he learned of the Dignan letter, Woody's marketing instincts recognized what an unbelievable weapon he had been handed. Until then the most the Buchanan for President campaign could have hoped for was a presence at the state convention. Now he had a crusade.

Neff, a political neophyte, has a killer instinct he applies with lanolin lotion. At a jammed press conference, the reporters were snarling their questions hoping to draw him into an exchange which could only lead to ugly headlines in the San Francisco morning newspapers. Neff deferred, smiled, bantered, and behaved as though he had been handling such press conferences for years.

The Convention: "We Want Pat"

If Neff is the state hero of the California Buchanan campaign, Eric Garris, the South Bay Coordinator, was the star of the convention. Garris, officer of the Libertarian Republicans of California (LROC), was early to recognize the futility of the Libertarian Party, and bolted that group in 1987. For many years LROC had been represented at California Republican conventions. Eric knew all the players, especially the bad guys. He magically arranged for two booths, LROC and Buchanan for President side by side, at the best location in the convention lobby. More wondrous was his ability to organize a Buchanan for President hospitality suite just hours before the convention opened.

Hundreds of people milled about the Buchanan table. Fortunately an emergency FED-EX shipment arrived Friday morning, so that Buchanan buttons and stickers were everywhere. Aside from the Buchanan campaign presence, the most spirited thing that happened at the Hyatt was the confrontation between the pro-choice and pro-life Republicans, and how they glared at each other.

The event I will remember most was the fevered demonstration of 300 Buchanan supporters snaking around all levels of the Hyatt Hotel chanting, "We want Pat, we want Pat..." When some tired Bush supporters countered with their own chant. "Bush and Quayle, Bush and Quayle...", the Buchanan contingent shouted them down "Read my lips, read my lips..."

As the demonstration reached its heady climax, I thought I

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felt the Hyatt Hotel shudder on its foundation. I passed my Buchanan for President poster to the next fellow, and quickly found the nearest exit. ■

A Neocon Glossary

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

As Pat Buchanan takes back the Right, the neocons have staged a libel-rama. In understanding the often Aesopian language of their attacks, this glossary may be useful.

America First: a nativist, nationalist, undemocratic preference for American interests; a cause of World War II.

Anti-Intellectual: an intellectual reviled by neocons.

Anti-Semite: one who disagrees with A.M. Rosenthal or Norman Podhoretz.

Aristotle: ancient Greek neocon.

Authoritarian: one who opposes democracy.

Bigot: a man hated by neocons.

Buchanan, Patrick J.: anti-Semitic, nativist, isolationist, fascist, protectionist, racist, xenophobic, reactionary, bigoted Catholic presidential candidate who likes the South.

Canon, The: a college core curriculum that includes Marx and Freud, and excludes fascists.

Catholic: fascist, anti-Semitic supporter of Father Coughlin and Francisco Franco.

Civil rights: black privileges approved by neocons.

Coughlin, Father: American Catholic.

Democracy: rule by neocons.

Democratic capitalism: social democracy.

Empowerment: more welfare.

Fascist: an opponent of social democracy.

Founding Fathers: early American neocons.

Franco, Francisco: European Catholic.

Global democracy: global rule by neocons.

Immigration: a process by which America is made more democratic and less nativist and nationalist.

Isolationist: an opponent of just wars; such views helped cause World War II.

Just war: a war approved by neocons.

King, Martin Luther: civil rights leader.

Lindbergh, Charles: isolationist, nativist, anti-Semitic Protestant.

Marx, Karl: freedom-lover who made a few mistakes.

Multiculturalism: a college core curriculum that excludes Marx and Freud and includes Toni Morrison and Dee Brown.

Nationalism: an undemocratic preference for one's own nation and culture; a cause of World War II.

Nativism: an undemocratic preference for one's own countrymen.

Neoconservatism: a ideology combining democracy, democratic capitalism, global democracy, immigration, and Trotskyism.

Paleoconservatism: a tradition combining anti-Semitism, nativism, isolationism, fascism, protectionism, racism, reaction, ruralism, pro-Southernism, nationalism, Protestantism, Catholicism, and xenophobia.

Plato: ancient Greek neocon.

Protectionism: opposition to neocon trade; a cause of World War II.

Protestant: nativist, isolationist, anti-Semitic follower of Lindbergh.

Quotas: black privileges opposed by neocons.

Racist: one who opposes civil rights.

Reactionary: one who thinks there was good in pre-Martin Luther King America.

Religion: a "noble lie" useful in keeping the masses in check.

Rural: intolerant, undemocratic area.

Social democracy: democratic capitalism.

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South, The: racist, fascist, undemocratic, anti-Semitic, nativist, nationalist, largely Protestant, and often rural section of the U.S.

Stalin: murderer of Trotsky.

Tolerance: A social order in which Christianity is just one of many equal religions, from Buddhism to Voodoo.

Trotsky: freedom-lover who made a few mistakes.

Urban: tolerant, democratic area.

Unjust war: a war opposed by neocons.

West, The: countries where neocons live.

World War II: *the* just war, which should have begun years earlier.

Xenophobia: disliking foreign neocons. ■

The Slanderers

by L.H.R., Jr.

John O'Sullivan has urged a post-primary rapprochement between the neo-conservatives and the Buchananites. In my view, even leaving aside neocon Leftism, such a concord is impossible.

The smears against Pat Buchanan have been coordinated, monstrous, and false—a pristine example of the real Big Lie technique. If any of the libelers wants to be considered civilized, let alone a possible ally, let him first make a public apology to Pat and his family.

Since virtually all the defamers acted out of cupidity, servility, or ideological viciousness, I am not holding my breath. But since I believe in the possibility of repentance, even among these types, I do not rule it out.

In the meantime, here is a partial list of those who owe apologies. Next month: heroes and on-the-fencers.

The anti-Buchanan smears have been coordinated, monstrous, and false: the Big Lie in operation.

Robert Bartley
Dimestore Trilateralist.

Jeffrey Bell
Failed politico.

William Bennett
Fascist.

Peter Berger
A mighty fortress is our Irving.

Walter Berns
Straussian cultist.

Sidney Blumenthal
Smart, perceptive, and perverse.

Rich Bond
Foreign agent.

Robert Bork
Smears his defender.

William F. Buckley, Jr.
No *Saving the Queen* now.

Steve Chapman
Testosterophobe.

Mona Charen
Impugns her benefactor.

Richard Cohen
Dwarf in a beret.

Midge Decter
Named after small fly.

Alan Dershowitz
Helps porn stars and murderers.

Terry Eastland
Meese's brain (poor Ed).

Don Feder
Compared Pat to Eichmann.

Marlin Fitzwater
Crooked heart too.

Abraham Foxman
Smearer-in-chief?

David Frum
Canadian anti-America Firster.

Newt Gingrich
Named after salamander.

Phil Gramm
Smarmy sleazeball.

Michael Joyce
Payroll clerk to the neoconintern.

Jack Kemp
Envious airhead.

James Jackson Kilpatrick
Shamed by non-turncoat.

Charles Krauthammer
Smearbund shrink.

Irving Kristol
Trotsky of the permanent neocon revolution.

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William Kristol
Chip off the old Trot.

Jay Leno
Looks like Fitzwater.

Max Lerner
Stalinist to neocon (a short trip).

Herb London
Gunky dean.

Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr.
Fuehrer principle.

J.P. McFadden
Beams in *Eye*.

Joshua Muravchik
Germanophobic gene counter.

Richard John Neuhaus
Who will free us from this turbulent priest?

Thomas L. Pangle
Spins gold into Strauss.

Martin Peretz
Hysteria First.

Norman Podhoretz
Emperor Ming to Pat's Flash Gordon.

Virginia Postrel
Wattenbergess.

Dan Quayle
Run by minicon.

William Raspberry
Named after little red fruit.

A.M. Rosenthal
Married, says *Spy*, to "bosomy dirty-book writer."

Carl Rowan
Bombastic boob.

Bill Safire
Rosenthalian conservative.

Samuel Skinner
Politburo type.

Bob Tyrell
Fan of plagiarizers, foreign agents, and Hollywood lewdniks.

Ben Wattenberg
Xenophilliac.

Vin Weber
Mandela lover and check kiter.

William Weld
Deviant Brahmin imperialist.

George Weigel
Upon this Irving, I will build my church.

Avi Weiss
Bring on the Polish workers and their buckets.

Jack Wheeler
Guerrilla wannabe.

Eli Wiesel
Named after sneaky animal.

Leon Wieseltier
Ditto.

George Will
Neocon lapdog.

Pete Wilson
One term limpster. ■

Much of the U.S. Catholic Bureaucracy has become left-environmentalist and therefore blasphemous.

Holy Mother Earth?

by L.H.R., Jr.

Lent is the season between Ash Wednesday and Easter when Christians remember and try to imitate the sufferings of Christ. For Catholics, this once meant frequent Mass, fasting, Stations of the Cross, and increased prayer. Nowadays, in the permanent Lent of the post-Vatican II Church, the focus has changed.

Much of the U.S. Catholic bureaucracy, like much of the culture, has become left-environmentalist and therefore inherently blasphemous. Here are a few excerpts from the Lenten Calendar of the "Catholic" Relief Services:

March 17: "Find three things normally thrown away after one use and use them again, e.g., aluminum foil, plastic bags."

March 22: "Reflect on this statement: 'In the U.S. each year we generate a ton of trash per person; 90% of this ends up in local landfills, half of which will be full within three years.'" (The United Nations)

March 25: "Learn about the use of composting as a natural and less harmful way to fertilize your grass and plants and at the same time to reduce your trash."

March 28: "Reflect on this statement: 'Teach your children what we have taught our children, that the earth is our mother. Whatever befalls the

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earth, befalls the children of the earth. If we spit upon the ground, we spit upon ourselves. This we know. The earth does not belong to us; we belong to the earth." (Chief Seattle of the Suquanish nation, 1854)

March 30: "Reflect on your place in the eco-system. Does your lifestyle, the lifestyle of your family, heal or hurt the eco- system?"

Note: there is nothing wrong with using aluminum foil or plastic bags once. Reuse implies one's time has almost zero value, since they must be cleaned. Even then, there are increased dangers of disease.

Americans generate less trash per person than Mexicans and many other Third-World peoples. We also generate less than in the 19th century. Yes, landfills are filling up. That is where they get that name. The problem is that environmentalists are preventing property holders from opening new ones through regulation.

Composting is fine, if it fits in with a gardening hobby. But it is hardly a moral imperative.

The Chief Seattle quote is phony, the creation of a scriptwriter for a 1970s ABC documentary, as I have discussed in *RRR*. This credulousness comes, I should note, from theological liberals who question the historicity of the Gospels.

The place of you and family in the eco-system? At the top. Animals, plants, and all the other components of the "eco-system" were created for man, and we should not allow one blade of grass or elephant to forget it. ■

P.C. Watch

by L.H.R., Jr.

Creative Destructionism?

The Austrian economist Joseph Schumpeter is being criticized as politically incorrect. In one not atypical diary entry, he wrote: "Just as the nigger dance is the dance of today, so is Keynesian economics the economics of today."

Lip Crime

Joe Gillespie, white head of a radio station in Washington, D.C., was fired for saying, in a private conversation, about a black tv achorwoman: "Oh, the one with the lips? Her lips, that's how I remember her."

The anchorwoman, when told of his firing, said it was necessary. "Such attitudes are disturbing in a town that is more than 70% African-American."

He Could Have Said Your "Lordships"

A black police officer in Tampa, Florida, faces dismissal for calling two blacks, 17 and 19 years old, "boy" during a arrest. Under today's rules, he is the criminal.

The Love That Dare Not Show Its Flag

Last month, Kappa Alpha fraternity at Jacksonville State University in Alabama was pressured by the administration into surrendering its past. No longer will members wear Confederate uniforms or fly the Southern flag during what used to be called Old South Week.

KA was founded in 1865 at Washington College (now Washington and Lee) by four Confederate veterans who wanted to carry on Southern traditions despite the victory of Northern aggression. Gus Edwards, a 74-year-old KA and former dean of Jacksonville State, told the *New York Times* he was saddened by the change, since KA ceremonies stood for "chivalry, courtesy," and a "high regard for God and Southern womanhood."

Were the traditions "racist," as black students charged? "There's nothing racial about getting dressed up in uniform and impressing the girls," said Tony Schwartz, a descendant of Yankees.

Yes there is, said Shandala Drake. The flag and uniform made "me think people don't accept us as equal." (The explicitly anti-white "black liberation flag" may be flown at any time, of course.)

The War for Southern Independence continues as the one national liberation struggle that may not be celebrated or even praised, although the KAs at Alabama's Auburn University are still resisting. The boys used to hang a gigantic Confederate flag from their house during Old South Week. When the president banned it, they covered their house and lawn with thousands of small flags. Those too were banned, and black students and their white allies are now seeking to ban Auburn's Old South parade. It is accused of "causing violence," i.e., thugs attack the peaceful paraders.

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J. Fred Muggs Is His Replacement

Dr. Frederick Goodwin, head of the federal Alcohol, Drug Abuse, and Mental Health Administration, has been forced to resign for making an analogy.

In discussing urban violence, Goodwin said, "If you look, for example, at male monkeys, roughly half of them survive to adulthood. The other half die by violence. That is the natural way of it for males, to knock each other off and, in fact, there are some interesting evolutionary implications of that... The same hyperaggressive monkeys who kill each other are also hypersexual, so they copulate more and therefore they reproduce more to offset the fact that half of them are dying."

Discussing the "high-impact inner city areas" that have lost "some of the civilizing evolutionary things we have built up," he wondered if, "maybe it isn't careless use of the word when people call certain areas of certain cities, jungles"?

The remarks were reported to the *Washington Post*, which featured them on its front page. In short order, Goodwin was out the door.

Zoo Correctness

"Guy the Gorilla" was the star attraction of the London Zoo for 30 years until his death in 1987, the only ape to have his obit in the London *Times*.

After being stuffed, Guy was displayed at the Natural History Museum until last month. "We don't display him anymore," an officious woman told the young daughter of a London *Spectator* writer. "We consider it offensive to him."

X Marks the Rot

Young black men often wear hats marked with Xs these days, a tribute to Malcolm X popularized by black movie director Spike Lee. Lee is filming X's life. Just recently, he called Warner Brothers "racist" because it wouldn't give him unlimited funds after he went way over budget.

Malcolm X was an eloquent spokesman for black nationalism, but he was also a liar. In his autobiography—ghosted by Alex Haley who also portrayed his fictional *Roots* as fact—and presumably also in Lee's movie, X tells about his house in Omaha being surrounded by KKK members. They were, he said, looking for his father, a supporter of black nationalist Marcus Garvey. The Klan, claimed X, eventually murdered his father.

In fact, as Bruce Perry reveals in his *Malcolm: The Life of a Man Who Changed Black America* (Barrytown, NY: Station Hill Press, 1991), X's father, Earl Little, was killed when he tried to hop on board a moving streetcar and was run over.

Instead of escaping the Klan, Little—a notorious wife beater—was running from another woman's husband.

The Molestitarians Take Over

Last academic year, the University of Massachusetts at Amherst banned discrimination on grounds of "race, color, religion, creed, sex, age, marital status, national origin, disability or handicap, veteran status, or sexual orientation, which shall not include persons whose sexual orientation includes minor children as the sex object." This academic year, the progressive UMass dropped the anti-pedophilia clause.

Gorillas 'n the Piss'd

Some months ago, I mentioned columnist Joel Achenbach's hilarious comments on federally funded research into gorilla "language." He received this response: "You are a prime example of human arrogance and insensitivity to other life forms. This planet would be a much better place if it wasn't for humans, polluting it, and destroying other life forms who may not speak our language or that maybe we're too stupid to communicate with!" You must be "a hunter." Well, replied Joel, I will say that "koala bear meat tastes surprisingly like chicken."

St. Pierre Toussaint?

When I first heard about pressure from the New York Archdiocese to canonize a black, Pierre Toussaint (1766-1853), I wondered if affirmative action were involved. But no, for PCers in the Church are flipping out. Toussaint was born, and chose to remain, a slave.

During the slave rebellion in Haiti, when every white man, woman, and child caught on the island was murdered, Toussaint helped his owners escape to New York. When his master died, and his mistress had spent the last of her money, Toussaint apprenticed himself to a hairdresser during

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the day to support the household, returning each night to don his red uniform and act as house servant. His mistress granted him his freedom on her deathbed.

Toussaint—who attended daily Mass for 66 years—became an expert hairdresser, and his business thrived. So fashionable was he that he was able to charge wealthy customers $1,000 a year, money he put to good use.

Pfleger has an altar to the man he calls St. Martin Luther King.

Shortly after gaining his freedom, Toussaint married a Haitian woman, and they began to take black orphans into their home. Next, he built an orphanage for white children, and helped finance the construction of two churches. All his life, he was renowned for his charity to the sick, even crossing quarantine lines to care for cholera patients.

Therefore, black priest Michael Pfleger denounces Toussaint as "passive and servile." At his church, Pfleger has an altar to the man he calls St. Martin Luther King, complete with a bust of the socialist satyr and an altar cloth made from the black nationalist flag.

Toussaint is also unpopular in Haiti, said a priest from that island. He was a "docile slave who followed his master." In the true Haitian spirit, Toussaint presumably should have murdered him.

High School Confidential

All across the country, points out Murray Rothbard, state legislatures and school boards are outlawing "sexual harassment" by male high school students. It seems that adolescent boys are given to "crude remarks" of a sexual nature, which must be suppressed by the government. Also now illegal are "staring," "leering," and "spreading sexual gossip." (In the same high schools that hand out condoms, of course.)

In fundamentalist Muslim countries, women are considered so inherently provocative that they must wear the *chador*, be accompanied by male relatives when they leave the house, etc. In the world of PC, women are allowed—even encouraged—to be as provocative as possible, while any boy or man who reacts by staring, etc. is sent, if not to the gas chamber, at least to sensitivity reeducation camps.

"I'm not a fan of either Muslim fundamentalism or PC," says Murray, "but which is clearly most out of sync with human nature?"

In the old days, teachers and principals—in company with parents and society in general—kept adolescent sexuality under control in school. Now, once again, we see that the erosion of traditional morality brings not freedom, but tyranny. ■

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